

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

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USNMR SHAPE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MBFR VIENNA 0350

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: JULY 1 EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENT

1. AT THE ONE HUNDRED EIGHTH PLENARY MEETING OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS ON JULY 1, CHAIRED BY DUTCH REP (DE VOS), BULGARIAN REP (DICHEV) WAS THE ONLY SPEAKER. HIS PRESENTATION EMPHASIZED THE EASTERN DESIRE THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS UNDERTAKE FROM THE OUTSET CONCRETE REDUCTION OBLIGATIONS, DENIGRATED THE MILITARY VALUE OF THE WEST'S DEC 16 NUCLEAR OFFER, AND STRESSED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DISBANDMENT PROVISION OF THE FEB 19 EASTERN PROPOSAL. THE MAIN POINTS OF DICHEV'S STATEMENT WERE:

A. PARTICIPANTS HAVE THE VITAL TASK OF MAKING CONCRETE REDUCTIONS IN THE LEVEL OF FORCES AND TAKING PRACTICAL STEPS TO STABILIZE PEACE IN AN AREA WHERE BOTH WORLD WARS STARTED.

B. THE PEOPLES AND LEADERS OF EUROPE, AND ELSEWHERE, LOOK TO THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE AND EFFECTIVE AGREEMENT FURTHERING THE RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION  
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POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY.

C. THE READINESS OF ALL ELEVEN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO ASSUME SPECIFIC REDUCTION OBLIGATIONS, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE, HAS SPECIAL IMPORTANCE FOR A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME TO THE NEGOTIATIONS.

D. BULGARIA IS READY TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT PROGRESS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS, AS EVIDENCED IN RECENT, JOINT BULGARIAN-AUSTRIAN AND BULGARIAN-TURKISH COMMUNIQUE, AND BELIEVES THAT THE OTHER FLANK PARTICIPANTS CAN AND MUST INTENSIFY THEIR OWN EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD.

E. AS A FLANK STATE, IT IS NOT A MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE TO BULGARIA WHETHER OR NOT WESTERN EUROPEAN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND CANADA ASSUME OBLIGATIONS ON THE SCOPE AND TIMING OF THEIR REDUCTIONS THAT WOULD EFFECTIVELY GUARANTEE THEIR ACTUAL PARTICIPATION IN REDUCTIONS.

F. THE CANADIAN PLENARY STATEMENT OF JUNE 24 CONFIRMS THE EASTERN VIEW THAT WESTERN PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US REMAIN UNWILLING TO OBLIGATE THEMSELVES TO DO MORE THAN TAKE PART IN NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING SECOND PHASE REDUCTIONS.

G. MEANWHILE, WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAVE BEEN CHARACTERIZING AS ONLY A PROCEDURAL MATTER THE PROVISION OF THE EAST'S FEB 19 PROPOSAL DIVIDING THE REDUCTIONS PROCESS INTO TWO STAGES.

H. IF THAT IS SO, THEN ONE MUST WONDER WHAT PREVENTS THE NATO COUNTRIES FROM AGREEING TO SIMULTANEOUS REDUCTIONS BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

I. THE GENERAL, FIRST-STAGE OBLIGATIONS REQUIRED OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, OTHER THAN THE US AND USSR, UNDER THE EAST'S FEB 19 PROPOSAL CONSTITUTES THE ESSENTIAL, MINIMUM GUARANTEE THAT ALL SUCH PARTICIPANTS WILL ACTUALLY REDUCE THEIR FORCES.

J. THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF ALL PARTICIPANTS REQUIRE A CLEAR VIEW OF THE FINAL OUTCOME OF THE PROCESS OF REDUCTIONS.

K. THE WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR COLLECTIVE CEILINGS CONTRADICTS  
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THE FACT THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS ARE NOT CONDUCTED ON A BLOC-TO-BLOC BASIS. IT LEAVES UNANSWERED THE QUESTION OF WHAT REDUCTIONS WILL BE MADE BY EACH INDIVIDUAL DIRECT PARTICIPANT AND CREATES THE POSSIBILITY THAT ONE OR ANOTHER OF THEM COULD EVEN INCREASE THEIR FORCES AFTER REDUCTIONS.

L. ONLY EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, AS THE EAST HAS PROPOSED, WILL ENSURE THAT EACH DIRECT

PARTICIPANT ASSUMES TRULY EQUIVALENT OBLIGATIONS ON THE BASIS OF MUTUALITY.

M. WESTERN PARTICIPANTS CONTINUE TO SEEK TO EXCLUDE ARMAMENTS REDUCTIONS TO WHICH FLANK COUNTRIES ATTACH PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE.

N. THE WEST DID ADD SOMEWHAT TO ITS POSITION ON THIS ISSUE BY OFFERING TO REDUCE CERTAIN US NUCLEAR ELEMENTS.

O. HOWEVER, THAT OFFER IS INADEQUATE IN THAT IT WOULD BE A LIMITED, ONE-TIME REDUCTION AND DOES NOT INCLUDE NUCLEAR COMPONENTS OF THE FORCES OF OTHER NATO COUNTRIES IN THE AREA.

P. MOREOVER, JUDGING FROM NUMEROUS PUBLIC SOURCES, INCLUDING PRESS ACCOUNTS OF THE LATEST MEETING OF NATO DEFENSE MINISTERS, THE NUCLEAR WARHEADS WHICH THE WEST PROPOSES TO REDUCE ARE OBSOLETE AND HAVE BEEN MADE SUPERFLOUS BY THE CURRENT MODERNIZATION OF US NUCLEAR FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

Q. THE WESTERN JUDGMENT THAT THE DISBANDMENT PROVISION OF THE FEB 19 EASTERN PROPOSAL HAS IN ITSELF NO MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE IS INACCURATE AND IT IS HOPED THAT THE WESTERN FLANK PARTICIPANTS IN PARTICULAR WILL CORRECTLY REASSESS THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS PROVISION.

R. AS FIRST SECRETARY ZHIVKOV HAS MADE CLEAR, BULGARIA FIRMLY SUPPORTS THE ENDING OF THE ARMS RACE AND THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

S. WITH THE PASSAGE OF THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THAT THE WEST IS NOW PREPARED TO BRING ITS POSITION INTO LINE WITH AGREED PRINCIPLES AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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SEARCH FOR A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE UNDERSTANDING.

2. THE FULL TEXT OF THE BULGARIAN STATEMENT FOLLOWS BY AIRGRAM. RESOR

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